



THEY WERE OUR FRIENDS

They Were Our Friends

A Memorial for the Members of the Hachsharot and
the Hehalutz Underground in Holland murdered in the
Holocaust

Monograph – by Yigael Benjamin

The Association of former Members of the Hachsharot and the
Hehalutz Underground in Holland – Westerweel Group included
Jerusalem

We thank all the members who helped us to publish this memorial. Special thanks are due to the members of the Board, who had the difficult task of tracing all the pertinent information, which made this memorial possible.

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Foreword

Our experiences as Holocaust survivors were so powerful, so turbulent and so penetrating that, in many instances, they even suppressed childhood experiences which normally have a decisive influence on a person's life. Now, as we approach old age, they come back to us with new intensity. For most of us these experiences were inordinately traumatic. The grief we still endure by the loss of family members, relatives and friends, and the physical and psychological suffering refuse to heal. On this subject much has been written; medical science has devoted much effort to the question of how to ease the suffering of those who survived the Holocaust, and how to lessen its influence on their descendants who were born after the end of World War II.

In spite of the suffering and the grief of that horrible epoch, for those who managed to survive there was also a positive feeling, an exaltation of the soul and an elevation of the spirit. Between those people there developed deep ties of friendship and love – ties which grew out of the discovery of simple humanity in those who shared a common destiny. This humanity existed despite the cruelty, the hatred and the indifference which characterized that period. Those feelings were experienced by the groups who were active in the underground movement and who participated in the uprising against the Germans. But these were not the only people whose humanity triumphed. In the concentration camps, too, friendships were forged in the face of cruel oppression and despite the concentrated and brutal attempt to wrench from the Jews all remaining signs of humanity.

These emotions were also felt by those halutzim in Holland who lived to witness the Liberation and later settled in Israel. The story of the rescue of hundreds of halutzim is unique; there is nothing that resembles it in all the countries that were under Nazi occupation. For this there were several reasons: firstly, there was no armed underground in Holland until 1944. This did not prevent the Jewish youths from joining resistance groups, although there were no Jewish fighting units like the ones in France. Secondly, there was the relationship between the Dutch population and the Jews. On this point one must note that there was quite a large number of Jew-haters. Still, they did not outnumber those

Dutch citizens who wanted to help Jews, whether out of personal friendship, out of pity for those who were defenseless and persecuted, or out of deep hatred for the common enemy. Holland was also the only country in which the organized underground was prepared to extend a helping hand to the Jews, providing money for Jews in hiding if necessary. In fact, there were some underground groups who specialized in saving Jewish lives and were concerned with this task only.

It is against this background that we must understand the impressive undertaking of hiding the halutzim, and its success. It was no coincidence that the initiative came from haverim born in Germany, who had already felt the impact of dread and terror under Nazi rule and therefore had no illusions about their future under that regime. The most amazing thing was that nobody tried to save his skin through personal connections nor did small groups look for hiding places just for themselves. The young leaders felt a heavy responsibility, a sense of obligation toward all the halutzim, youths and adults. This feeling of collective responsibility extended to members of all the halutz-movements. The responsibility of the leadership expressed itself in the concern for every single halutz and did not stop until everything was done to smuggle him beyond Holland's frontiers, often as far as Spain.

The sophistication and the broad scope of the rescue operations would not have been possible without the organized help of non-Jews, those "Righteous Gentiles" of whom Joop Westerweel was the undisputed leader. This man had very well defined principles and believed in non-violent resistance to the Nazi-regime. In many ways he formulated the policies according to which the madrichim acted. He was deeply impressed by the idealism and camaraderie of the halutzim, when he came to know them better. In the harmonious cooperation between Joop Westerweel and his group with the halutzim there was no place for disagreements based on individual ideology or on differences between Jews and non-Jews. Lack of all mutual suspicion was a rare and extraordinary phenomenon in occupied Europe. This mutual trust was therefore the recipe for guarding the secrecy that was so vital to the underground movements. Symbols of this cooperation and common destiny are the deaths of Shushu and Joop. Both died for the cause they believed in and for their convictions, refusing to give information to the enemy about friends and their activities.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the survivors of these tragic years remained bound to one another by strong ties of friendship. The memory of their fallen friends – especially the guiding lights among them – remains with them till this very day. Proof of this lies in the projects undertaken by the halutzim in Israel to perpetuate their memory, among them several publications on this subject which have already appeared and others that are still in the planning stage.

The names of the fallen halutzim are being immortalized in Yad-Vashem and this book is being published in order to give some additional information.

We wish to thank everyone who participated in this project, and especially Yigael Benjamin, who devotes himself to historical research of which the episode of rescuing the halutzim is a part. He and all the haverim who cooperated on this project were motivated by their emotions born of the fate they shared.

Thus, may all those who rescued, and those who were rescued, be blessed.

Jozeph Michman

Introduction

This book is the result of the concentrated efforts of many who felt it timely to immortalize the names of the halutzim – members of the hachsharot during the German occupation of Holland, who did not survive.

At the beginning we had to answer a number of questions. The first: why only now? The 45 years that elapsed make it difficult to find the names of more than 400 victims, their origin and their fate. Yet this information is the basis for any commemoration. To determine the fate of each of the members it was necessary to study the documents preserved – though they are not many – and to interview survivors and witnesses. Their number dwindles and sometimes their memories fail.

The answer is that perhaps only now are we ready to face the task. The survivors emerging from hiding, coming back from the camps or from the resistance, were seemingly unharmed. Most of them went to Israel and just a few remained in the Diaspora. All were young, believing in their future, longing to build their land and their new life. They had to struggle with their past, trying to overcome and forget it. New lives and new families were started. The past, though never forgotten, became paler and dimmer.

But now – fifty years after the event – the memories come back, doubts and second thoughts arise and the past is again, very close, with us.

Another question arises: Why to immortalize their names? During interviews with survivors we have been asked many times: "Who needs it today? Certainly not the dead, they should be left in peace! What is the use of bringing back the past?"

The answer might be in the personal experience I had that motivated me to take on the challenge. About a year ago I came across a booklet telling the story of 105 young refugees – mostly from Central-Europe – who, upon arrival in Holland, stayed in the "De Kleine Haar" youth hostel in the village of Gorssel. The booklet contained their names, date and place of birth, profession, the hachsharot and the places they stayed in during the war and their ultimate fate – for many the death camps. I remembered the hostel – meetings and conferences convened there subsequently. I knew many of these youngsters.

I started leafing through the booklet: "Feingersch, Rosa, born in Oldau, 29.8.20...killed in Auschwitz 7.9.42. Istvan, Balint, born in Szeged (Hungary)...killed in Sobibor 16.4.43." I tried to remember where I was on that day of 1942. I was still working for my farmer and my evenings were spent chatting away with my friends in the apartment we shared. And where was I on that April day of 1943? I was already in the South of France enjoying the springtime sun on the Mediterranean beach. These reflections gave me an inkling of the meaning of what is called "The Holocaust". It was as though all of a sudden this collective and personal calamity descended upon me with all its force, too strong to contend with except by ignoring or repressing it.

We may understand the Holocaust only by personalizing it. We speak about "the victims", "the murdered" or "four hundred halutzim who perished". These are anonymous stereotypes which depersonalize and dim our consciousness and protect us from trying to comprehend the incomprehensible. The main goal of our project is to bring back our members from anonymity.

"Who needs it? Certainly not the dead", is also related to the concept of "Respect for the dead" which actually means "Respect for life". Respect for the dead by bringing them to a proper Jewish burial is an important commandment of Judaism. The Nazis inflicted an additional blow on the Jews by denying them any sort of burial. They intended to dehumanize them both before and after their extermination.

Many of the members who perished had no family, relatives or friends left. They sank into oblivion as though they never had existed. It is our elementary duty to remember them and bear witness that they once existed upon this earth. Not to honour the dead – they do not need it – but to preserve our self-respect.

The last question is the question of our identity. "Who are we, the survivors?" We are former members of the Halutz Movements and the Youth Movements, some Dutch born, others born in Central-Europe fleeing to Holland to begin or complete their hachshara. They were united in one wish: to make aliya and build Eretz-Yisrael. Now, just about half of them are left. All this happened light years ago! Today, these people differ from each other in almost every respect, in their expectations, personal inclinations, lifestyle and outlook. But there is one unique thing they will always share: their common experience that not many have had in

the course of history. They remember it and talk about it. Having shared this experience obliges us, the survivors, to remember those whose thread of life was cut short along the way.

Halutzim under Nazi occupation

The struggle of the Jewish people during the Nazi rule in Europe was fundamentally different from the struggle of other people. The latter struggled to free themselves and their countries from subjugation and the yoke of a ruthless conquest. The Jews had to struggle to remain alive. Survival was the highest valued and most important goal, to be achieved by all means.

The Halutz Movement in Holland had, at the time of the Holocaust, about 800 members – a negligible percentage of the 140 thousand Jews in Holland. But the halutzim accounted for 16 % of the members of the Zionist organizations and over 37% of the membership of the Zionist Youth Movements. However, their importance exceeded by far their number. This was demonstrated at the time of the Holocaust, when they played a unique role – being the only Dutch Jewish group to establish an underground movement.

The Nazis wanted to drive the Jews to despair, to shatter any hope of active resistance, that would fail in any case. They intended to quell any hope of rescue and assistance from outside – until they resigned themselves to their fate. To overcome this situation the Jews had to surmount the psychological barrier, relinquish their passive attitude and take a different course of action. The fulfillment of the Zionist vision, the belief in the future of Eretz-Yisrael and building a new society there, the importance of everyone's contribution – were significant factors in breaking this psychological barrier. These factors, and being part of a group with a common goal, increased immensely the self-esteem of the halutzim and their will to struggle for survival. The instinctive will to live is common to all creatures but for them it became the highest value, a symbol of their victory over the enemy, ensuring their future.

The inner strength of the groups and their capability to resist emanated from their strong commitment to the ideal – not theoretically, but as a personal

fulfillment – and the loosening of the family ties, due to the circumstances and the historical events. The process of severing the family ties was evident for the halutzim fleeing or coming from Central-Europe. The Hehalutz Movement became their home and family substitute. For the Dutch halutzim, joining the hachshara was the beginning of the process of breaking these ties. Thus, it happened that at the time of the Holocaust, having been freed from these bonds, increased the individual's strength and his chance to survive.

At the crucial moment – their belief in the ideal and their sense of belonging to one great family – were the basis of the willpower to resist actively and continuously. This would have been impossible but for the moral and practical support of many Dutch people, first and foremost the Westerweel group. The members of the Westerweel group were deeply impressed by their encounter with the Halutz-movement. Here, they found people driven by willpower and devotion to their cause, who had decided to take their fate into their own hands. The relationship that developed between the members of the Westerweel group and the members of the Halutz-movement was not just one of sympathy of the rescuers for those they helped, but true friendship and even identification.

The Growth of the Hachsharot in Holland

The Russian Revolution and the Balfour Declaration – at the end of the First World War – made a decisive impact on the establishment of the Hehalutz Movement in Russia. The Revolution granted the freedom to organize and the right of self-determination, and the Balfour Declaration made the establishment of a National Home in Eretz-Yisrael realizable. Realization of the Zionist dream, creating a new society based on Jewish self-labour, equality and social justice were the goals to be achieved by the Hehalutz members, through active and personal participation in building Eretz-Yisrael. The hachsharot were established for the members to prepare themselves for this pioneering work.

The spirit of the period arrived, from the core of the revolution, to faraway Holland. Shlomo Fischer, Ru Cohen and Emile Fischer laid the foundation of the first hachshara during the convention of the Union of Dutch Zionists

(Nederlandse Zionisten Bond) in Hilversum taking place at the end of 1917, in the wake of the Balfour Declaration. A year later the first 8 halutzim were working for farmers near Deventer. In May 1919 their number was 35. The first convention of the halutzim was held in Deventer on Sukkot 1919 (September-October), with Ru Cohen's participation. The convention resolved to establish the Hachshara Organization. It was founded in January 1920 and formally registered on May 2nd, 1920 under the title: "The Association for Professional Training of Palestine Pioneers" (Vereniging tot Vakopleiding van Palestina Pioniers), in short: "The Deventer Vereniging." From its inception until the liquidation of all the hachsharot in 1943, the Deventer Vereniging was headed by Ru Cohen.

Adult Hachsharot

A. Individual Hachshara – The Deventer Vereniging

In the 1920's most of the halutzim in Holland were from Eastern-Europe. The first ones escaped to Holland during the First World War through Germany and Belgium. 113 halutzim, among them 37 from Palestine, were trained in the hachshara during its first decade – 1918 – 1928, nine of them Dutch-born. In the following four years – 1928 – 1932 – their number increased and 140 additional halutzim completed their training. The number of German-born halutzim grew steadily, while the number of the Dutch halutzim was not insignificant. The Hachshara Organization grew considerably in 1933. The German Hehalutz started to establish hachsharot outside Germany. The share of the Dutch halutzim was modest but increased constantly reaching 30% in the forties'. At the beginning, the halutzim lived together in several centers (Den-Bosch, Marum, Winterswijk, Twello), and every day they went to work with the farmers in the neighbourhood. The centers were abolished as early as 1921, when the halutzim went to live on the farms. This change took place because the Deventer Vereniging believed that farming is a way of life, not only a vocation. That the Dutch farmer could not serve as a model for the new farmers in Eretz-Yisrael, neither professionally and certainly not spiritually, was not taken into consideration. The Deventer

Vereniging did much to improve the professional skills of the halutzim, but education and cultural and social values – that should have been inseparable components of the hachshara – played only a secondary role. In fact this approach was also politically motivated. The members of the Deventer Vereniging belonged to the Union of Dutch Zionists – affiliated at that time with the "General Zionist B" party, and to its "rightist" political leaning. The Union supported this party's objection to the kibbutz hachshara even though the kibbutzim were the main absorbers of immigrants to Eretz-Yisrael. However, the main reason for this approach was financial, not ideological. The Deventer Vereniging was financed by donations from the Zionists and their supporters, and by contributions of those parents of the halutzim who could afford it. All this could hardly balance the accounts. The hundreds of halutzim living with the farmers received full board and covered mostly their personal expenses. But the budget could hardly cover even the organization's meager needs, like halutz homes for vocational training, travelling expenses, clothing, purchase of bicycles and a very small but necessary administration. The needs were indeed minimal but compared with the meager resources seemed considerable. The weak Zionist movement could not afford to finance a kibbutz hachshara, even if it wanted to.

The hachshara was basically agricultural; vocational training was added only at a later stage and to a small extent. The girls were employed mostly by Jewish public institutions like hospitals, orphanages, old-age homes, restaurants and private households. A few worked in farmers' homes. The "hachshara" – the training that the Deventer Vereniging provided was "individual hachshara" in its fullest sense. The members were employed by the farmers in hard manual work (10 – 12 hours a day in winter time and 12 – 16 hours in the summer). During the winter they were entitled to one or two free evenings to participate in Hebrew and agricultural courses. The meetings were held in the provincial towns, sometimes quite far from the place of work and in all weather conditions they had to ride their bicycles, the only transport available. The wages were very low, lower than the wages of the lowly paid agricultural labourers. For the first months the novices did not even get pocket money and well trained veterans received, at best, about half the wages of a farmhand. They lived under miserable conditions in cultural and social isolation. To be eligible for aliya one had to complete at least two years

of hachshara and sometimes they had to wait 5 – 6 years for an available certificate.

Until 1933 the halutzim had to finance their aliya since the Zionist institutions had no funds. To cover these expenses they had to work two more years. Nowhere else were the conditions so difficult, not even in Eretz-Yisrael. Most of the girls and those having vocational training had better conditions. Some of them lived in Hehalutz homes in Deventer, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht, but mostly they were scattered in many villages and townships all over Holland.

B. The Religious Hachshara – “Dat-va-Aretz”

The religious hachshara was established after the formation of the Deventer Vereniging. Until the end of the 1920's very few members, mostly Dutch, joined. They had to eat and live with Jewish families to be able to observe kashrut and Shabbat, and had to find farms to work on. The individual hachshara system caused many problems for the observant halutzim and when their number increased, hachshara centers with common accommodation were set up.

The “Mizrahi”, the religious faction of the Union of Dutch Zionists, for years tried unsuccessfully to establish – together with “Agudat-Yisrael” and the Association of the Chief Rabbis of Holland – a separate hachshara organization. Later, the Mizrahi established its own hachshara section headed by S.L.de Beer and later by E. Dasberg. In June 1933 the section was succeeded by the new Dat-va-Aretz organization, a parallel organization of the Deventer Vereniging. The two organizations continued to cooperate. They reached an agreement, whereby the Deventer Vereniging was responsible for finance, arranging places for training and contact with the authorities and Dat-va-Aretz was in charge of cultural and religious matters, the hachshara centers, and the allocation of certificates. The religious hachshara favoured hachshara centers – “kibbutzim”. There they could observe the mitzvot, study the Tora and conduct a normal social life. The men went to work on the farms and the women were in charge of keeping house.

The first center was set up in Almelo in 1930, and the second in Ommen in 1933. Both were in the province of Overijssel. The membership increased

following the events in Germany and due to the Zionist idea of personal fulfillment which caught on in the religious youth movement “Zichron-Ya'akov” – affiliated with the Jewish Youth Federation (Joodse Jeugd Federatie). In 1935 the number of the religious halutzim reached 56 – 54% were Dutch. This percentage was maintained throughout despite the increase in the number of halutzim in the 1940's.

In 1935 the centers in Almelo and Ommen were abandoned. The first was disbanded when there were no suitable farms in the area and the second because of social and personal problems. Two new centers replaced them, one in Beverwijk in Noord-Holland and one in Franeker in the province of Friesland. At the end of 1940 the Beverwijk center diminished considerably because the Germans prohibited Jews of foreign nationality to stay in the coastal area. A new center in Laag-Keppel in Gelderland was established and some of the members moved there. The others continued their training in the framework of the individual hachshara.

The conditions of the members in the centers were actually harsher than in the individual hachshara. In addition to their long working days on the farms, they had to spend long hours cycling, before dawn and late at night, to and from the farms, sometimes in difficult weather conditions. But their cultural and social life was immensely richer. Both, the Deventer Vereniging and Dat-va-Aretz, considered the social and cultural aspects as secondary, but they recognized these needs as far as the religious halutzim were concerned. The conditions of the girls and the vocational trainees were equal in both organizations.

C. Agudat Yisrael

Agudat Yisrael, being an orthodox religious movement, rejected in principle the modern Zionist solution. The development of the Yishuv in Eretz-Yisrael changed that attitude and they started to participate in building the land, although with some reservation. After the Nazis came into power in 1933 this tendency increased considerably. The same year a number of Agudat Yisrael members – Y. Samson, Dr.Hausdorf, Mr.de Haas, J.Froman and Lina Sanders – opened a hachshara center in Enschede in the province of Overijssel, supported by the

Enschede Jewish community and its chief rabbi, Rabbi Hirsch. The Almelo center served as a model for that of Enschede. At the end of the 1930's, when the number of the members reached 70, the center moved to a more suitable site in nearby Twakkelo. The center was managed by Dr. Schtessman, and later by H. Nussbaum. After Nussbaum's aliya, Rabbi Hillel Bruckenthal from Kibbutz Hafetz-Haim arrived at the request of Rabbi Breuer of Frankfurt. He and his wife Mali ran the hachshara until he was taken prisoner as "enemy alien" by the Germans in June 1940. The members came mostly from "Ezra" the Aguda youth movement in Germany or from Poland, almost none were Dutch. The work schedule was similar to that of the other hachsharot but much greater emphasis was given to religious studies and culture. A limited cooperation existed in technical and professional matters with the Deventer Vereniging, and there were friendly relations with the Almelo and Ommen centers. Otherwise this hachshara was isolated from the mainstream movement and the Jewish youth of Holland.

D. The Kibbutz Hachshara – the Werkdorp

The Werkdorp was established in February 1934, in the northern part of the province of Noord-Holland, on land just reclaimed. The founders were G.Flatow, G.van den Bergh and the "Stichting Joodse Arbeid – Wieringermeer" – The Wieringermeer Foundation for Jewish Labour – an offshoot of the "Refugee Committee". The Werkdorp was designed to be a place of hachshara and retraining for 1000 Jewish refugees from Germany. But the available resources were sufficient only for 250 – 500. The permit granted by the Dutch authorities was only for 300 and they agreed to this only after Kristallnacht, and subject to the following conditions: all had to be from Germany; fifty of them had to be from before 1934; the number of Zionists and non-Zionists had to be equal; and all of them had to leave Holland upon completion of their hachshara.

The non-Zionists were defined as those who intended to emigrate "overseas". The Werkdorp population was representative of the Jewish youth in Germany – as was the case in other hachsharot – but there they were not requested to declare their Zionism. The members of the management board of the Wieringermeer Foundation were Zionists, and they made their mark on the hachshara center. The

first manager was Dr.H.Lubinsky, who arrived from Germany upon the opening of the Werkdorp. When he left for Palestine he was replaced by Moshe Katznelson who came from Eretz-Yisrael as a shaliach (emissary). He ran the Werkdorp until he was taken prisoner by the Germans in June 1940 as an "enemy alien". Katznelson was a member of the board of the NZB – the Union of Dutch Zionists and had a great influence upon its institutions. He seemed to keep his distance from the halutzim but exercised great authority over them.

The Werkdorp was like a kibbutz hachshara: a large mixed culture farm including workshops, living quarters in fairly comfortable wooden huts and communal services. Like in the kibbutz, the members ran the farm themselves. But here they did it under the guidance of Dutch professional instructors. The workday lasted 8 hours and was much easier than in the individual hachshara. The men worked in agriculture and the workshops, the girls ran the services, but worked also on the farm. The youngsters in the age group 15 – 17 studied in the "Youth Club". Their curriculum was rich and diversified and there was an exciting and active cultural and social life. There were of course problems and tensions, of a personal and political character, as was to be expected in a small heterogeneous community. The memories of the past, concern about the future and the isolation from the outside world exacerbated the tensions. The authorities imposed severe restrictions. The members were prohibited to leave the place without permission, even for very short periods, to learn Dutch and befriend local girls. Although the prohibitions were not always kept, their existence deepened the tensions and the feeling of dependence. Nevertheless, the Zionist Executive and local Hehalutz, succeeded in giving the members fairly good conditions compared to the individual hachshara.

E. Adult Hachshara – Summary

The hachsharot of the Hehalutz movements were greatly dependent on the patronage of several organizations. This was due to the fact that most of the halutzim were aliens and it was necessary to provide them with work permits, employment, accommodation and money. These organizations had a philanthropic and paternalistic approach. They intervened to a very great extent in the affairs of

the hachsharot and even in the personal life of its members. Marriage was permitted only in special cases, bearing children was strictly prohibited and unmarried couples were separated and sent to different places. "Offenders" or those halutzim who failed to keep up with the harsh physical demands of the individual hachshara, were punished, and sometimes even sent to the detention camp for German refugees in Westerbork (after the Nazi occupation of Holland it became a concentration camp, whence the Jews were sent to the East). Yet it has to be remembered that the organizations were responsible to the Dutch government that the refugees would not be paid for their work, and see to it that they would stay at the place their work permit designated, would not be involved in politics, would behave "appropriately" and would leave the country upon completing their hachshara – after not more than two years. Repeated violations of these terms would have endangered the whole hachshara enterprise and certainly its expansion, which was vitally needed at the end of the 1930's. This responsibility may justify some of their measures, but not absolve them entirely from some of their actions.

The halutzim had neither a free hand nor independence in conducting the hachsharot, but they had strong organizations, which was quite important. The largest and strongest was "Hehalutz". Its advantage over the others was its close contact with Eretz-Yisrael through the shlichim who directed its activities. Other organizations were the "Bachad" – Brit Halutzim Datiyim (The Union of Religious Halutzim), which was not affiliated with the World Bachad Organization, and Hevrat Haolim (The Olim Society) founded in 1933. Hevrat Haolim had a core of Dutch members, mostly from the Jewish Youth Federation. Hevrat Haolim differed politically and ideologically from Hehalutz, partly due to the difference in mentality of the Dutch and the alien halutzim. The Dutch joining Hehalutz had socialist views or were, more often than not, members of "Poalei Zion", the socialist section of the Dutch Zionist Union, and "Maccabi Hatzair" (Young Maccabi). Bachad and Hevrat Haolim had only intermittently shlichim from Eretz-Yisrael, and relatively few members. Thus, their activities and bargaining powers were limited.

The halutz organizations concentrated mainly on education, culture and social affairs. The patron organizations considered these as having secondary importance

and gladly left them to the halutz organizations. In addition, they maintained contacts with the halutz movements in other countries, and especially in Palestine. In Palestine the relations were not only with the movement and the political parties. The kibbutzei-aliya they established, maintained ideological as well as personal contacts with kibbutzim in Palestine they intended to join.

Most of the madrichim in the youth hachsharot were members of the halutz movements and they exercised great influence. The movements had a say in the distribution of the certificates. Usually, their opinions were taken into consideration by the patron organizations, as long as they conformed to their general outlook. They considered their dependence on the patrons as an unavoidable necessity in the prevailing circumstances. But their allegiance was to the halutz movements which represented their aspirations and they followed their directions. This became clearly evident in the crucial days of the occupation.

Youth Hachsharot

Youth Aliya, an offshoot of the Jewish Labour Foundation, was directed by Erika Blueth and Aliza Mendes-da Costa. The latter took care of the absorption of children. There were three hachsharot for the youth, the Youth Farm in the Catharinahoeve in Gouda, and the Youth Aliya homes in Mijnsheerenland near Rotterdam and the "Vondelhof" in Amsterdam. The two first ones were under the guardianship of the Jewish Community of Rotterdam. Youth Aliya looked after the granting of certificates for all of them.

The Youth Farm – officially the "Stichting De Joodsche Tuinbouw-Veeteelt-en Zuivelbereidingsvereniging" – "The Jewish Foundation for Vegetable Growing, Cattle Breeding and Milk Processing" – was first established in 1910 and reinstated in 1937 as a training center for Dutch youth in the age group of 15 – 17. As of 1938, following the events in Central-Europe, the doors were opened to youth fleeing from these countries. In the winter of 1938, after the Kristallnacht, the home in Mijnsheerenland and the "Vondelhof" were opened for refugee children aged 13 – 15. The Vondelhof proved to be too small and in August 1939 the children were transferred to a new place opened by Youth Aliya in Loosdrecht

near Hilversum. In November 1940 the Germans ordered the evacuation of Mijnsheerenland and the inhabitants joined Loosdrecht.

The Deventer Vereniging opened in June 1940 another youth hachshara in Elden, near Arnhem in Gelderland. Elden was inhabited by youngsters from overcrowded Gouda and Loosdrecht and new Dutch recruits. The managers as well as the teachers, foremen and the other staff, were appointed by the Deventer Vereniging from among the members of Hehalutz, Bachad and the individual hachshara, as was the case in Loosdrecht. Life in these three youth hachsharot had a similar pattern: work in the orchards, kitchen gardens, field crops and on nearby farms – combined with studies of general, Jewish and Zionist subjects. Social life was active, and religious and non-religious members lived together in mutual respect and tolerance.

All the hachsharot had an intimate family atmosphere, trying to give the children the warmth they missed since they left their homes. Their dependence on the staff was much greater than that of the adult members.

The Gathering Storm

The German campaign against the Jews intensified greatly in the spring of 1938 and displayed more and more its ugly and alarming face. These events increased considerably the number of halutzim and youngsters fleeing to Holland from Germany and Central-Europe, some of them released from concentration camps. For them, Holland was a temporary refuge on their way to their destination. The Dutch government restricted severely the influx of refugees. Despite the restrictions, the hachshara organizations and the Refugee Committee succeeded in receiving permits to increase the number of halutzim, both in the adult and youth hachsharot. But the government demanded that they comply with the condition that the halutzim must leave Holland upon completion of their hachshara. The British granted very few certificates. Consequently "Aliya – Beth", the illegal aliya organization, provided the ship "Dora" which sailed in July 1939 with 300 halutzim landing safely on the shores of Palestine. Most of the Zionist organizations – not realizing the gravity of the situation – objected to "illegal

measures". The hachshara organizations finally agreed only after lengthy and bitter arguments with the shlichim. The sailing of the "Dora" was delayed for six precious months, mainly due to lack of resources, and consequently no more ships could sail. In April 1940, shortly before the German invasion, another Youth Aliya group left for Palestine.

After the German invasion, in June 1940 the JCB (De Joodse Centrale voor Beroepsopleiding) – "The Jewish Vocational Training Center" – was founded. The center was to coordinate the operations of all the organizations concerned to support and ensure the continuous operation of the hachsharot. The shlichim took an active part in the establishment of the JCB before they were interned by the Germans as enemy aliens. When the Germans appointed the Judenrat the JCB became part of it. The Judenrat and the JCB could grant the halutzim temporary protection from deportation, enough to enable them to go into hiding and set up their underground movement. Thus, they served for a long period, mostly unknowingly, as cover for extensive underground activities.

The anti-Jewish decrees during the first nine months of the occupation and the various social, economic and occupational restrictions they imposed, had little effect on the hachsharot. They were living an isolated and autarkic life. This was also the case of the members of the individual hachshara, living in isolation in a non-Jewish environment scattered between the farms and having little contact with the Jewish communities.

As of February 1941 an essential change took place and by spring 1942 it became evident that the Germans were set for an all-out war against the Jews, though it was unknown what measures would be taken. During 1941 the Germans conducted four raids arresting about 900 young Jews, deporting them to the Mauthausen concentration camp where they were later killed. The first of these raids was in February 1941, immediately after the Judenrat was established, marking the beginning of the Holocaust in Holland. Four hundred young Jews were victims of this raid, demonstrating the intentions of the Germans. The raid was a reaction to some acts of Jewish resistance. It was believed, however, that such an extreme reaction was an exception and would not be repeated.

But in June 1941 there were additional raids in Amsterdam, in which 300 more were arrested for no apparent reason. By then, notices about the death of those

arrested in February were received. Earlier, the members of the Werkdorp were evacuated to Amsterdam. The Nazis requested their names and addresses from the Judenrat pretending they wanted to return them to the Werkdorp. Thus, cunningly, they arrested 65 hachshara members, among them 57 from the Werkdorp and many other members of the Zionist Youth movements. Now there could not be any more doubt about the nature of the German actions. The Jewish community in Holland, and especially in Amsterdam, was in a state of shock when more and more death notices arrived. By September 1941 almost all those arrested were dead. The Germans, using the shock effect, threatened with "Mauthausen" i.e. death anyone who would disobey their orders.

Due to the "Mauthausen arrests" a reign of terror prevailed causing great emotional stress, and a feeling of being trapped. Letters received from parents from across the borders telling about their imminent deportation to the East or their intended suicide, aggravated the condition of the halutzim, especially of those who had already experienced the German concentration camps. These events played on the nerves of the halutzim, and put to the test their stamina and willpower. Some became paralyzed and resigned themselves to their fate, like those members of the Werkdorp who, in July 1942, complied with the first deportation orders. But most of the halutzim realized that the Nazis intended to kill them and that they had to defy the Nazis and avoid, by all means, falling into their hands, although they did not know how far-reaching the plan for the "Final Solution" would be. During the last waves of the Mauthausen arrests in Gelderland and Overijssel, where most of the hachsharot were at the time, the halutzim went into hiding upon the slightest sign of an impending raid. They were increasingly vigilant and resolved to react to future events whatever they might be.

The Hour of Trial

The critical moment arrived when, in July 1942, the deportations started. Looking back on the Hehalutz underground it might seem that it was a well-planned and organized enterprise, but it was not founded in planned meetings and its leaders were not elected. One Hehalutz member testified after the war:

"...my recognition that we had to prepare ourselves to live underground was growing without realizing what it would mean...". There was only one meeting, of just a few members of the Hehalutz central committee, before the beginning of the deportations in which an attempt to prepare a basis for the future of the movement was discussed. That meeting resolved "to do the utmost to hide the members and simultaneously find escape routes". The resolution was not an operational one at the time. The movement had no contacts with sympathetic segments of the population, no hiding places, no documents and no funds which were necessary to organize an underground. But it expressed the conviction of the members of the necessity to look for ways and means of rescue. This conviction dawned upon them so late in the day because the leadership of Hehalutz had its feedback from the community that did not yet feel the imminent danger. As long as it was possible to live a "normal" life, though under much more difficult conditions, they hesitated to take the drastic step of going underground, not being sure whether it would bring salvation.

At first, after the beginning of the deportations, many lost their lives because they were unprepared mentally and practically to go underground, they were inexperienced and lacked hiding places and contacts. Many questioned the decision to go underground; the ideology was that one has to identify with the suffering of the Jewish people, share its fate, not escape it. There was doubt whether it was practical to go underground and whether they would be able to cope with the hardships of an underground life. They shrank from taking such an irreversible step that would lead to unknown consequences. The community of the halutzim lived in a despairing, fatalistic and demoralized atmosphere, the local population being indifferent and giving no support. The hachshara organizations – with very few exceptions – opposed "illegal" activities. This background and the difficult communication between the faraway areas over which the halutzim were scattered, made it difficult to convey the message and convince the members in time.

The Hachsharot and their Members During the Holocaust

Having described how the first steps of going underground were taken, we now focus on the fate of each of the hachsharot. To grasp the situation and understand the decisions made, it is necessary to present the statistical data. These are presented in the two tables on the following page. Table 1 contains the total numbers of halutzim and the number and percentage of the survivors. Table 2 presents the number and percentage of the survivors among the members in the underground compared to those among the deported, per hachshara. The data refers to the situation immediately prior to the deportations on 15th July, 1942. As of this date the halutzim had to choose: to go underground or to be deported.

Table 1 shows that 323 halutzim lost their lives. The list in this booklet as well as the memorial wall in Yad Vashem contain 417 names. The 94 names missing in Table 1 were of halutzim killed or deported between May 1940 – July 1942 and of people who worked in the hachsharot in various capacities but were not halutzim. The tables show that there were at the time 716 halutzim in the hachsharot, 393 of them or 55% surviving. But Table 2 demonstrates that out of the 387 going underground – 80% survived as against only 26% of those deported. The percentage of the survivors among the deported halutzim was much higher than the average percentage of the survivors of the concentration camps. This could be attributed to the organized assistance to the members that resulted in many of them being sent to Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt, where the chances of survival were much greater than in the other camps.

This data is surprising in itself and throws a new light on the events. To understand it fully, more information and details are needed.

A. The Individual Hachshara

The number of the members includes 30 halutzim from the Werkdorp who joined the individual hachshara, but does not include 13 members transferred to the youth hachsharot in Gouda, Loosdrecht and Elden. 73% of the 30 former Werkdorp members survived, a much higher percentage than that of the other

Table 1
Hachshara members, Summer 1942, Survivors and Victims

Hachshara	Total No.	Survivors		Dead	
		No.	%	No.	%
Total	716	393	54.9	323	45.1
Deventer	268	155	57.8	113	42.2
Werkdorp	189	91	48.1	98	51.9
Laag Keppel	34	8	23.5	26	76.5
Bev. Fra. Ind. *	52	34	65.4	18	34.6
Loosdrecht	51	33	64.7	18	35.3
Gouda	27	18	66.7	9	33.3
Elden	43	31	72.1	12	27.9
Agu. Enschede	52	23	44.2	29	55.8

Table 2
Members in Underground, Deported and Survivors

Hachshara	Total No.	Underground				Deported			
		No.	%	Surv.	%	No.	%	Surv.	%
Total	716	387	54.0	309	79.8	329	46.0	85	25.8
Deventer	268	174	64.9	145	83.3	94	35.1	11	11.7
Werkdorp	189	75	39.7	67	89.3	114	60.3	24	21.0
Laag-Kepp.	34	7	20.6	3	42.8	27	79.4	5	18.5
Bev. Fra. In. *	52	28	53.8	25	89.3	24	46.2	9	37.5
Loosdrecht	51	50	98.0	33	66.0	1	2.0	–	–
Gouda	27	19	70.4	17	89.5	8	29.6	1	12.5
Elden	43	7	16.3	4	57.1	36	83.7	27	75.0
Enschede	52	27	51.9	15	55.6	25	48.1	8	32.0

* Beverwijk, Franeker Individuals

Werkdorp members, as described in the next section. A high percentage of the members of this hachshara went underground and survived, probably because they lived and worked in a rural area among a non-Jewish population. They had the necessary contacts with sympathetic local people and were less exposed to the heavily populated Jewish centers - especially Amsterdam. Not being in the center of the hostile activities protected them, to some extent, from the perils that faced them and gave them a better insight into the events and their future implications.

B. The Werkdorp

This hachshara had bad luck. It was liquidated in March 1941. 227 of its members were transferred to Amsterdam and only 59 remained until August 1941. 39 members joined other hachsharot and 57 were victims of the Mauthausen arrests, in Amsterdam, in June 1941. Thus, in July 1942 only 189 could be considered as Werkdorp halutzim. A lower percentage of the members of this hachshara went underground and the ratio of survivors was also lower than in most of the other hachsharot. This may be attributed, among others, to the compliance of 52 members with the order to report for work in the East (Arbeitseinsatz), issued on 15th July 1942. These first orders appeared before the general deportation orders. Those who complied, lived in Amsterdam for over a year under heavy stress. Most of them believed that they were really called up for work, others were despairing, depressed and indifferent. The Werkdorp leadership approved their compliance and did not try to prevent it. They had no connections, no resources and many lost contact with the movement since they were transferred to Amsterdam. The movement was, in any case, in its first stages of going underground and could not help much.

The group of the Werkdorp members that joined the individual hachshara came to a rural area and lived - as described above - in non-Jewish surroundings, far from the paralyzing conditions in Amsterdam. At the same time, their close friendship with the members in Amsterdam and those arrested and killed in Mauthausen, made them sensitive and aware of the dangers ahead. They had thus an advantage over the other individual hachshara members who did not have that experience. This is evident from the statistics.

C. The Religious Hachshara

At the time of the German invasion the Bachad, the religious hachshara, had two hachsharot, one in Beverwijk and another in Franeker. Religious halutzim in individual hachshara were mostly girls and those having vocational training. In the autumn of 1940, the Germans forced the alien members of Beverwijk to leave the coastal area. The others had to follow during 1941. Most of the members went to the newly founded hachshara in Laag-Keppel or joined individual hachshara. The Franeker hachshara was liquidated in November 1942 by a German surprise action. The non-Dutch members were imprisoned, first in Leeuwarden and were later transferred to Westerbork. Most of the Dutch members went to Laag-Keppel or joined individual hachshara, some preferred, already at this stage, to go underground.

In July 1942 the religious hachshara had 86 members, 34 in Laag-Keppel and 52 in individual hachshara. The percentage of the religious halutzim in individual hachshara going underground was lower than among the members of the Deventer Vereniging. Probably because they were less integrated in, and kept at a distance from the non-Jewish environment. But the percentage of the survivors among the religious was slightly higher than that of the Deventer Vereniging.

It was different in Laag-Keppel, where the belief that the religious halutzim objected to going underground originated, saying: "the die is cast, there is no counsel against God's will, and the duty of the halutzim is to be at the head of the camp". Indeed, this was the conviction of some of the religious halutzim, among them one of their prominent leaders, but this was not the decisive factor. The hachshara centers had, for better or worse, a much greater influence.

In Laag-Keppel, as in the Elden youth hachshara, most members were deported without trying to defy the deportation orders. Both were under the influence of the Deventer Vereniging and Dat-va-Aretz, which opposed strongly the underground, believing it would endanger the hachsharot. 80% of the Laag-Keppel halutzim perished compared to 25% of the Elden members. Since the same concept prevailed in both, the great difference between them was the result of other factors. The Elden members arrived at Westerbork in October 1942. They were saved from immediate deportation to the East by the father of

one of them serving in the camp as a foreman. He managed to convince the Germans to keep them as a workgroup. Later they formed the nucleus of the "Kvutza Hachshara" of Westerbork. Most of them were transferred, afterwards, to Bergen-Belsen where the chances of survival were much greater than in the other camps. Almost all the members of the Laag-Keppel hachshara were sent, in April 1943, to the Vught concentration camp, and shortly thereafter via Westerbork to the extermination camps.

D. The Youth Hachshara

The Loosdrecht, Gouda and to some extent the Enschede hachshara centers were similar in their character to those in Laag-Keppel and Elden. The members of Laag-Keppel and Elden complied with the deportation orders, as aforesaid, according to the policy of the hachshara organizations and under the influence of their madrichim. The 52 Werkdorp-members reporting, in July 1942, for work in the East, included 19 youngsters aged 16 – 18. The Foundation for Jewish Labour and their madrichim did not try to prevent them from going.

In contrast, the behaviour in Loosdrecht and Gouda was different. There, the madrichim decided to defy the German orders and go into hiding. The managements of Aliyat Hanoar and the Youth Farm had an attitude of sympathetic non-intervention and some of their members gave indirect support.

All the members of Loosdrecht, but one who joined his parents and was deported with them, went into hiding. Their higher casualty rate compared to Gouda was due to the necessity to hide at once a large group, with no time available to prepare hiding places, which had to be improvised. 70% of the members of Gouda went into hiding. 8 Dutch youngsters joined their parents and reported for deportation, only one of them survived. 90% of the others survived. This could be credited to the success of the management to delay the liquidation until April 1943. These 9 months enabled them to use the experience gained, the hard way, by others, and prepare safe hiding places and suitable documents. By then there were also more Dutch people willing to help.

E. Agudat-Yisrael

The Aguda hachshara in Enschede differed little from the others except that there was a much more intensive study programme and a rather strict discipline. They, like their movement, were secluded and had very few contacts with the outside world, even not with the other hachsharot, except some very loose ones with a few Aguda personalities who financed them and some members of the Enschede Jewish community. Yet, the rescue activities were not different from those of the other hachsharot, although their possibilities were much more limited. Nevertheless, more than half of the members succeeded in finding hiding places for themselves. Their actions were supported by the management of the hachshara, that looked upon them favourably. Later, they were assisted by a Christian underground group founded by Reverend Overduin, and were actively supported by several members of the Jewish community and some of the leaders of the Judenrat in Enschede (which was positively different from the one in Amsterdam). The comparatively low survival rate is the result of improvised and unsafe hiding places and many denunciations and betrayals.

F. The Westerbork "Kvutza Hachshara"

The "Kvutza Hachshara" in Westerbork was established on 3rd October 1942 by the members of the Elden hachshara, brought to Westerbork together with 15,000 Jews from all over Holland. Its establishment was neither initiated nor assisted by any of the movements or hachshara organizations. The Elden-members were saved from immediate deportation to Auschwitz by one of the two parents of members who were functionaries in the camp. He was a foreman and managed to convince the Nazi commander that the Elden-members were skilled workers and would be very useful. Soon they earned themselves a reputation and became the nucleus of the Kvutza Hachshara. The movements and the hachshara organizations were not involved. Many halutzim came to Westerbork in compliance with the German deportation orders or having been arrested for underground activities. Most of them joined the Kvutza Hachshara. As the camp population was growing it needed a greater and well-trained work force. The

Kvutzat Hachshara expanded and had in the end 150 united and disciplined members. The members were from different movements and hachsharot, nevertheless, and despite the difficult conditions, their morale was high, they helped each other and maintained as much as possible their social and cultural life. They had close contact with the underground movement outside the camp, and with its cooperation a few dozen halutzim were smuggled out. A big escape of a large group was planned, but it turned out that it was impossible to implement it. Many halutzim had foregone opportunities for escape because of their loyalty to, and identification with the group, and the German threat to send 20 members on a "penal transport" for each one that escaped. In retrospect, it is known that actually there was no difference between the "regular" transports to Auschwitz and the "penal" ones. The names of all the members detained in Westerbork were transmitted in the summer of 1943 to Switzerland. Consequently, the International Red Cross sent messages that there were certificates in their names. Having a certificate protected the holder from being transported to the extermination camps. At the beginning of 1944, the certificate holders were sent to Bergen-Belsen as candidates for the "Exchange" programme (a plan to exchange Germans detained by the British for British subjects and certificate holders), and many of them survived. Unfortunately, many a time the certificates arrived too late. Sometimes, when the quota for a transport was not full, "protected" detainees were also deported, as happened in August-September 1943. It goes without saying that the deportees did not know what was awaiting them in Auschwitz.

The Kvutzat Hachshara in Westerbork was a forceful expression of how, on the brink of oblivion, they retained their faith in the movement and in their future.

The Hehalutz in the Underground

A. Resistance and Perseverance

The story of the Hehalutz Underground Movement in Holland is one of a unique group that organized its members to resist the fate the Nazis had designated for the Jews. They had the stamina to persist in their struggle. Resistance was based on a rational evaluation of the situation, resulting in decisions on the measures to be taken. It could be a continuous operation or a spontaneous one-time-act. Resistance would cease either as a result of a well-considered decision, out of fear or after having been crushed by the oppressors. Perseverance needs strong willpower, stamina and endurance to continue the struggle in difficult and ever-changing circumstances, thus giving it a chance to succeed. To defy the Nazi enemy and go into hiding is an act of resistance; to remain in hiding and struggle continuously with the pain, suffering and the hardship – is perseverance.

B. The Birth of the Underground and the Rescue Operations

The struggle was first and foremost for survival. It was fed by the longing to fulfill the Zionist vision and by a strong sense of belonging to one great and united family.

Nothing was ready at the crucial moment, except the consciousness that it was necessary to struggle for survival. The meeting, mentioned earlier, of some members of the Hehalutz leadership just before the beginning of the deportations, was the first sign of the recognition that an underground movement had to be set up, though they did not know how. They could not know how long it would be possible to survive underground under the conditions prevailing in Holland. Consequently, it was necessary to find escape routes across the borders. As long as there was no comprehensive rescue plan they had to improvise. The members were requested to look individually for hiding places, documents, money and escape routes and report to the center about their findings. The poor communication between the scattered members and the rapid succession of events

caused information to reach members too late or not at all.

Eventually, the leadership and the members learned, many times the hard way, the nature of the obstacles and dangers on the escape routes. The routes were improved, safer hiding places were arranged, better documents were prepared and more sophisticated deception methods were used. Various organs of the Judenrat were used to perform diverse actions, such as communicate with, and smuggle members out of Westerbork, and above all to create and expand connections abroad. The first contacts with Switzerland were not successful and many members trying to escape to Switzerland were caught. At a certain time, when there were no hiding places, some even tried to go to Germany disguised as Dutch workers. This experiment ended with more victims.

Finally the rescue operation concentrated on the escape route to France. By the end of 1942 it was already clear that France offered much better conditions for an underground movement than Holland, and could serve as a transit route to Spain, leading eventually to Eretz-Yisrael. The dream to go to Palestine started to materialize during 1943. The members of the Hehalutz underground had close contacts with the French Zionist movement and with the Armée Juive, the Jewish section of the Maquis, and participated actively in various operations. In spite of their different mentalities and the fact that at times they pursued divergent goals, a close cooperation developed. The cooperation between the Dutch and the French exploited the special skills of each of the parties, the French had good contacts in Spain and knew well the routes over the Pyrenées, the Dutch specialty was their "German connection" – they infiltrated the "Todt" organization and branches of the Nazi military administration. These operations were exploited to smuggle 150 halutzim from Holland to France. They were then taken to Spain and 60 of them reached finally Palestine before the end of the war.

C. The Westerweel Group

The Hehalutz Underground Movement was established to answer the need to struggle for survival. It was the initiative and the creation of its members. But its existence and expansion could hardly have been possible without the assistance of many other individuals and organized groups. It is rather difficult to identify and

mention all those who supported and assisted the Jewish struggle. Many of them supported any resistance, not only the Hehalutz or the Jews. The "Westerweel Group" was representative of all of them and yet was unique among them by being the only one established specially to support the Hehalutz Underground Movement. The group was named after Joop Westerweel, a humanist, an educator, a "Christian anarchist" and a confirmed non-conformist, and all this can not describe fully his outstanding personality. Joop had a great influence on everybody he met and he was deeply impressed by the members of the Hehalutz underground. Joop acquired the status of an outstanding leader both within his group and the Hehalutz underground. The relationship between the two groups developed into a close partnership as comrades-in-arms. The Westerweel Group's first operation was the evacuation of the Aliyat-Hanoar Home in Loosdrecht. Thereafter the operations expanded: they supplied documents, hiding places, smuggled members over the borders to Belgium and France, helped to rescue members from Westerbork, in fact they were involved in the diverse activities of the underground, both as initiators and executors.

Joop Westerweel expressed his sympathy for the Hehalutz underground and its causes in the following words:

I have come to help you, not only because it is my duty to help the weak and the persecuted; I came to help you first and foremost, because I see in you a group of people devoted to their ideal and resolved to help themselves...

This was, generally speaking, the undeclared attitude of the whole group, although they came from different backgrounds and did not always have the same opinion. Joop was probably the one for whom the Socialist-Zionist ideal had the greatest attraction, but the other members shared with him his strong identification with the movement.

Epilogue

This book is an attempt to describe the environment and circumstances in which the members we want to remember, lived and acted. We tried to understand the background and motivation of their behaviour and deeds. Actually, it is impossible to revive the past, to see its full and true picture. It is, therefore, only a brief and concise retrospective glimpse.

This was a very special time. It was a time of great calamities, a time when it was difficult to stay alive, a time that required heroism, but also a time of great hope. To survive was the greatest achievement.

We, who are commemorating here our members, survived thanks to chance, good luck, the help of many and a little resourcefulness, that gave us the motivation and strength to fight for our survival.

Those we remember here were no different from us. They struggled as best as they could but they lost the battle and did not survive.

Glossary

Agudat Yisrael – Ultra-orthodox non-Zionist movement.

Aliya – (literally: ascent, rise.) Immigration to the Land of Israel.

Aliyat Hanoar – Youth Aliya organization founded in 1933 by H.Szold and R.Freyer to rescue Jewish children by bringing them to Palestine.

Aliya Beth – Organized illegal immigration to Palestine.

Dat-va-Aretz – Religious Hachshara Organization.

Eretz-Yisrael – The Land of Israel (Palestine).

Hachshara-(ot) – Training or training center for halutzim

Halutz-(im) – Pioneers preparing themselves professionally and spiritually for aliya and life in Palestine.

Hehalutz – A Zionist Pioneer Movement founded in 1917 in Russia by J.Trumpeldor

Kibbutz-(im) – Communal collective settlement.

Kibbutz Hachshara – Collective training center for halutzim.

Kibbutz Aliya – A group of halutzim intending to settle together in a kibbutz.

Madrich-(im) – Instructor, leader, educator.

Mitzvah(vot) – Jewish Religious commandments and good deeds

Mizrahi – The Religious Zionist Movement.

Olim – Immigrants to Palestine.

Sukkot – Feast of Tabernacles.

Shaliach-(Shlichim) – Emissary from Palestine.

Yishuv – The Jewish Community of Palestine.

Members of the Hachsharot and the Hehalutz
Underground in Holland murdered in the Holocaust

We shall always remember them

The Hachsharot

Beverwijk
Deventer
Elden
Enschede
Franeker
Gouda
Laag-Keppel
Loosdrecht
Werkdorp

BEVERWIJK

ASSCHER, HENRI ABRAHAM (HANS)
9.6.21 AMSTERDAM – 16.4.45 HAGENOW

BOBBE, ELKAN
10.3.16 DEN HAAG – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

BOBBE-FRANK, LEA
22.3.23 NIJMEGEN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

BOLLE-POLAK, JULIA (JUUL)
17.7.14 AMSTERDAM – –.5.45 TROEBITZ

COHEN, IZAK (YITZHAK)
24.11.19 WATERGRAAFSMEER – 5.3.43 SOBIBOR

BENNEBOOM-van ESSEN, DUIFJE (DUSSIE)
10.10.22 LEEK – 22.3.45 B. BELSEN

ESSEN, JOEL van
24.9.16 GRONINGEN – 15.3.45 B. BELSEN

GOMPERS, PHILIP
17.12.21 AMSTERDAM – 24.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GOUDSMIT, ISAAC NICO
23.11.23 GRONINGEN – 28.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

POLAK, MIRIAM JANIE
–.6.22 ANTWERPEN – 22.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

RUSS, CHAIM
2.10.21 TARNOW – 22.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SAMSON, BELLA
18.1.18 ENSCHEDE – 9.4.43 SOBIBOR

TAL, WILLI
9.9.22 AMSTERDAM – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

TENNENHAUS, ELIESER LAZAR
19.1.09 TARNOPOL – 31.5.44 AUSCHWITZ

DEVENTER

ADLER, ARTHUR
10.6.22 FRANKFURT A/M – 10.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ASCH, HERBERT
12.6.16 BREMEN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

ASSCHER, IZAK (YITZHAK)
5.5.21 GRONINGEN – 28.2.45 C. EUROPE

BAAR, HERMANN
8.12.23 DUISBURG – 1.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

BALINT, ISTVAN
26.9.18 SZEGED – 16.4.43 SOBIBOR

BARTA, MAX
20.5.20 BERLIN – 27.2.44 AUSCHWITZ

BENEDEK, JOSEPH
14.5.18 GYÖR – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

BERGER, ALBERT
3.5.19 BONN – 21.2.44 MONOWITZ

BRASCH, HEINRICH HEINZ
5.7.20 KÖNIGSBERG – 18.1.45 AUSCHWITZ

BRILL, BRUNO
30.5.18 HERZEBROCK – –.43 MAIDANEK

CALMANOWITZ, JOSEF ROLF
19.11.19 LEIPZIG – 31.3.44 C. EUROPE

COHEN, EMANUEL (MANU)
26.5.16 AMSTERDAM – 31.3.44 POLAND

COHEN, ERNST HERMAN
23.7.21 DEVENTER – 16.4.45 HAGENOW

COHEN-KOENIGSBERGER, EVA
17.11.1891 AMSTERDAM – 26.10.44 B. BELSEN

COHEN, RUDOLF EPHRAIM (RU)
27.7.1889 DEVENTER – 27.2.45 B. BELSEN

CORONEL, ISIDOR
1.5.18 AMSTERDAM – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

DREYFUSS, ANNA ROSA
17.10.18 SAARBRÜCKEN – 7.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

DREYFUSS-de LEEUW, LILLY
28.3.20 SULZBACH – 30.4.43 SOBIBOR

DROLLER, FRANZ JOACHIM
16.8.21 MANNHEIM – 10.4.45 B. BESEN

DRUYF, PAUL
31.10.19 AMSTERDAM – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

DUERSTENFELD, EDITH
19.12.19 WARSAW – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

EHRENFRIED, GUENTER LOUIS
23.6.21 BERLIN – 13.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ELIAS, KARL HORST
16.3.20 BRESLAU – 27.2.44 AUSCHWITZ

ESSEN, SALOMON JOEL van
18.5.15 GRONINGEN – –.12.43 AUSCHWITZ

ESSO, PHILIP HERBERT van
7.10.21 AMSTERDAM – –.– AUSCHWITZ

FEINGERSCH-PRAGER, FANNY
7.10.18 OLDAU – 6.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

FEINGERSCH, ROSA
29.8.20 OLDAU – 7.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

FELDMANN, HEINZ
30.9.20 VIENNA – 15.7.42 AUSCHWITZ

FERBER, HEINZ RUDOLF
1.5.23 ELBERFELD – 9.5.45 C. EUROPE

FOERSTER, HORST SIEGMUND
14.10.22 BERLIN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

FRANK, SALLY HEINZ
17.3.20 DÖRRMOSCHIEL – 25.12.43 AUSCHWITZ

FREUDENTHAL, HEINZ
30.1.16 KÖLN – 31.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

FRIEDLAENDER, HEINZ JULIUS
1.4.20 BRESLAU – 24.12.43 BIRKENAU

GLASEL, ANDOR PAL (PAUL)
5.10.18 BUDAPEST – 3.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

GLASEL-van THIJN, HENRIETTE
9.8.18 ROTTERDAM – 3.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

GOLDSTEIN, ERNST
6.6.14 ATZGERSDORF – 28.4.44 AUSCHWITZ

GOLDWEIN, ARTHUR
13.7.13 MEIMBRESSEN – 1.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GROTTER, JOSEPH
2.1.20 BRATISLAVA – 31.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

GUMPRICH, KARL ERNST
27.11.18 HERBERN – 11.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

HAENDEL-NORDEN, KAETE LISELOTTE
16.1.19 WOLLIN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

HAJDU, JOZSEF
27.11.21 BUDAPEST – 31.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

HAK, GUENTHER van der
–.–.19 BREMEN – –.–.45 B. BESEN

HANNEMANN, KURT
9.11.19 BERLIN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

HEINEMANN, FRITZ ADOLF
28.1.23 HANNOVER – 28.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

HERSCHEL, NICO LOUIS
20.9.15 ZWOLLE – 23.7.43 SOBIBOR

HERZ, HEINZ
6.3.21 KÖLN – –.43 NO DETAILS

HIRSCH, ERNST (WILLY)
24.6.16 AACHEN – –.4.45 B. BESEN

JACOBS, BETSY MARTHA
15.12.19 BOXMEER – 31.7.44 AUSCHWITZ

JACOBS, SIEGFRIED
28.11.14 AMSTERDAM – 22.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

JACOBSON, LION
25.3.19 AMSTERDAM – DIED IN AMSTERDAM 11.9.41

KAMP, HERBERT
28.11.20 DORTMUND – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

KANAREK, EPHRAIM
30.8.22 – LEIPZIG – .45 BUCHENWALD

KATZ, LUDWIG
20.12.20 OBERLAURINGEN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

KAUFMANN, CLAUS
3.4.22 GELDERN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

KLEIN, KAREL MARTIN
21.8.20 APELDOORN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

KOHN, AMNON
25.12.16 AMSTERDAM – 31.5.45 BUCHENWALD

KOHN-WONDER, KAATJE
14.3.17 WEESP – 7.11.42 AUSCHWITZ

KOLODZINSKY, GERHARD EDUARD
6.3.22 BRESLAU – 9.1.44 BIRKENAU

KOPPEL, JACOB (JACQUES)
9.7.22 ZUTPHEN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

KRIEKS, ELKAN AND SPOUSE
30.4.1898 AMSTERDAM – 6.5.45 TROEBITZ

LATTERBAUM, FRITZ HARTOG
20.11.23 DEN HAM – 31.10.43 C. EUROPE

LEEuw, PHILIP de
24.5.14 DEN HAAG – 20.11.44 RHENEN

LEVIE, GERSON de
26.12.21 COEVORDEN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

LEVY, ALFRED
24.9.21 BERLIN – 6.9.44 AUSCHWITZ

LEVY, HERBERT (HENNE)
29.1.21 BERLIN – .5.45 B. BEISEN

LEVY, PETER
28.7.22 MÜNCHEN – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LICHTENSTAEDTER, RUTH
23.9.22 BERLIN – 11.5.45 TROEBITZ

LOEBL, JACOB GEORGES
8.2.18 SOPRON – 31.12.42 AUSCHWITZ

LOEBL-BRAUN, ZIONA BERTA AND CHILD
27.5.19 SZIKSZO – 28.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LOEWENSTEIN, RUTH
20.5.23 IDSTEIN – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

LOEWY, RUTH
17.12.20 HOPPSTADTEN – 9.11.42 AUSCHWITZ

LOMNITZER, HEINZ
15.12.19 RATIBOR – 9.8.42 BIRKENAU

LUSTIG, RUDOLF
10.8.18 BRATISLAVA – 31.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

MAIER, ARTHUR LEO
28.6.20 MANNHEIM – 9.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

MARCUSE, ERICH
26.1.21 GREIFENHAGEN – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

MARZYNSKI, ABRAHAM
3.5.12 LODZ – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

MENDEL, KURT
9.10.20 WUPPERTHAL – .-.-. AUSCHWITZ

MEYER, WERNER
15.8.17 HAMBURG – DIED IN HIDING 1944

MOSER, KURT ERICH
3.6.20 WUPPERTHAL – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

MYERSON, ROBERT HERMAN

20.5.14 BORNE – 8.2.45 B. BELSEN

NOACH, JULES FREDERIK

27.4.23 DEVENTER – 28.2.45 GERMANY

NUSSBAUM, ERWIN

19.12.20 RHEYDT – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

OSSENDRIJVER, ELIAZAR

24.11.12 ROTTERDAM – 31.3.44 C. EUROPE

PIJER, ABRAHAM

24.4.13 AMSTERDAM – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

PLATO, FRANZ HERMANN SELIG

14.11.20 FULDA – 31.10.42 C. EUROPE

PRINZ, LEONARD (HARDI)

25.12.19 ALLENSTEIN – 31.5.45 B. BELSEN

REICHENBERGER, HENRI LEOPOLD

14.7.1896 DOETINCHEM – 12.2.45 B. BELSEN

ROSENFELD, HEINZ OTTO

6.5.21 VIENNA – 31.3.44 POLAND

ROTH, WERNER

12.8.20 HINDENBURG – 28.2.44 AUSCHWITZ

SACHS, GUENTHER JULIUS

8.2.20 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SALOMONS, RUTH

9.9.19 DELITZSCH – 7.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SAMUEL, MANFRED

26.4.17 RODALBEN – --.43 AUSCHWITZ

SAUER, GUENTHER

3.6.19 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHAEFER, WALTER

18.5.23 KARLSRUHE – 17.9.43 LAHDE

SCHMOLKA, ERICH

10.5.21 VIENNA – KILLED IN ROTTERDAM 14.5.40

SCHNITSELER, JACQUES

5.4.20 ENSCHEDE – 9.12.43 BIRKENAU

SCHWARZ, ROLF HEINRICH

12.2.20 BERLIN – 17.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

SILBERMANN, MELLA

25.10.20 Breslau – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SIMON, HARALD AND SPOUSE META

17.10.20 BIELEFELD – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

SIMONIS, HELLA JULIA

27.3.21 BERLIN – 5.3.43 SOBIBOR

SLUIZER, OTTO

10.12.12 AMSTERDAM – 9.1.45 B. BELSEN

SPITTEL, HEINRICH MAX

27.2.18 BERLIN – 30.12.43 AUSCHWITZ

SPITZ, DAVID

15.4.18 HILVERSUM – --.43 COSEL

SPITZ, JACOBUS

21.10.12 HILVERSUM – 27.3.45 B. BELSEN

STAPLER, SIEGFRIED (FREDI)

11.11.21 VIENNA – 18.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

STEIN, HANS

25.8.17 OLOMOUC – 10.1.45 AUSCHWITZ

STEINBACH, WALTER LUDWIG

14.2.21 NÜRNBERG – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

STEINBERGER, JOSEF

31.12.17 SZEREP – 31.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

STERN, HANS ROLF

23.9.20 Breslau – 14.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

STODEL, LEO

15.4.08 AMSTERDAM – 13.3.43 SOBIBOR

STODEL-KATZ, MARTHA

19.1.13 REGENSBURG – 13.3.43 SOBIBOR

STRUM, ABRAHAM HENOCHE (ADDI)

27.9.21 LWOW - 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

SUGAR, LASZLO

26.1.17 GYÖR - 31.3.44 C. EUROPE

SZEGEL, SANDOR

28.5.19 BUDAPEST - 31.3.44 BUCHENWALD

VEGHT, BERTHA MIRJAM

19.10.21 ZWOLLE - 9.10.43 AUSCHWITZ

VERDONER, EVA

15.2.22 AMSTERDAM - 5.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

VREELAND, TOM

26.2.21 AMSTERDAM - 17.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

WAGNER, FRANZ

7.3.20 BRESLAU - 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

WEIL, WALTER

21.9.22 HAMBORN - 28.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

WEINSTEIN, MAX

23.8.20 FELSBERG - 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

WEINTHAL, SIMON

10.2.16 ESSEN - 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

WEISZ, CHARLOTTE

30.5.16 JASZAPATI - 28.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

WERTHEIM, HEINZ

26.6.21 BREMKE - 3.12.43 AUSCHWITZ

WINDMUELLER, MAX

17.2.20 EMDEN - 21.4.45 CHAM

WOLF, HEINZ ALEXANDER

27.2.21 HUELCHRATH - 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

WOLFSBERGEN, ALEX EDUARD

14.8.18 AMSTERDAM - 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

WOUDE, DAVID van der

12.7.18 AMSTERDAM - 24.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

ELDEN

COSMAN, ERNEST (ERCO)

22.5.20 BIELEFELD - 17.1.44 MONOWITZ

GOLDSCHMIDT, LEO WERNER (URI)

26.7.24 DUISBURG - 10.4.45 B. BELSEN

HOROWITZ, HEINZ ROLF (HONKIE)

29.12.22 BERLIN - 27.11.44 NEUENGAMME

KLIJNKRAMER-FEINGERSCH, MARIE AND SPOUSE

21.10.11 ODESSA - 28.2.45 C. EUROPE

KOLLER, ARNOLD DAVID (EFFIE)

15.7.27 BERLIN - 27.11.44 NEUENGAMME

POLLACK, KURT

16.3.24 BOCHUM - --.44 AUSCHWITZ

ROSENBERGER, FRANZ (FERRY)

26.12.13 OGGAU - 26.1.45 BUCHENWALD

RUSS, AKIWAH JOZEF

18.1.24 TARNOW - 27.1.43 MAUTHAUSEN

SIMONS, WILLI (ZEEV)

15.9.24 KÖLN - --.44, FRANCE

SPITZ-de VRIES, MARCELLA

12.5.17 AMERSFOORT - 4.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

STRANDERS, EMIL (MIEL)

25.5.17 AMSTERDAM - 2.2.45 BUCHENWALD

WINTER, GRETA de

27.5.24 DEN HAAG - 22.10.42 AUSCHWITZ

ENSCHÉDE

AUERBACH, HERMANN

26.11.08 HAMBURG – 23.7.43 AUSCHWITZ

BERGER, BERNHARD (DOV)

1920 NÜRNBERG – 11.6.45 HOLLAND

BLUMENTHAL, LOTHAR LUDWIG

27.12.20 FULDA – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

COHEN, WALTER

29.2.12 EMDEN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

ETTLINGER, MAIER MAX MARTI

30.12.17 KARLSRUHE – 9.5.45 RIESA

FEITH, MARCUS YESHAYAHU AND SPOUSE ROSENBAUM

21.2.09 KOLBUSSOWA – 44/45 B. BELSEN

FLACHSBAUM, MAX (FLAXI)

1.1.25 DUISBURG – 8.3.45 FLOSSENBUERG

FRIEDLAENDER, ADOLF

29.11.19 DUISBURG – 11.6.43 SOBIBOR

GUTMANN, ZIPPORA

26.5.20 BURGPREPPACH – 24.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

HAAS, HERBERT

9.3.16 BERLIN – 3.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

HAHN, JUSTIN

29.8.21 KLEINLANGHEIM – 4.2.45 B. BELSEN

HEYMANN, ALFRED

6.9.24 CASTROP-RAUXEL – 31.7.44 C. EUROPE

ISAAC, DANIEL

26.4.23 HAMBURG – 16.7.43 SOBIBOR

KOHN, ALFRED

8.12.15 LÜLSFELD – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

KUNSTATT, LIPMANN

4.6.19 FULDA – 23.7.43 SOBIBOR

LABIN-ROTHENBERG, BERNHARD

26.12.14 DORTMUND – 23.7.43 SOBIBOR

LEHMANN, SIEGFRIED

11.3.20 ROTHENBURG – 31.3.44 POLAND

LEVY, ERICH

7.12.19 HAMBURG – –,– AUSCHWITZ

LOEWY, ADOLF LUDWIG

10.1.20 BRESLAU – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

MOSES, ERWIN

4.12.16 FULDA – 30.11.44 AUSCHWITZ

NEUBERGER, MARCUS

7.11.09. BERLIN – 31.3.43 C. EUROPE

NEUBERGER-RABINOWITZ, FLORA

20.5.14 ODENHEIM – 5.11.42 AUSCHWITZ

OETTINGER, DANIEL KURT

10.2.20 FISCHACH – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

STRAUSS, MANFRED

8.4.20 HAMBURG – 23.7.43 SOBIBOR

TAUBENBLATT, SALLY

20.12.14 NÜRNBERG – 14.5.43 SOBIBOR

WINZELBERG, BERNHARD (DOV)

21.6.21 KIEL – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

WOLF, JULIUS

1.3.26 LIMBURG – 28.2.45 C. EUROPE

WOLFFS, LAZARUS HERMANN (LUZ)

16.6.17 AURICH – 15.1.44 AUSCHWITZ

WOLFFS, WOLFF HERMANN

16.6.17 AURICH – 3.12.43 AUSCHWITZ

ZIMMER, ALEXANDER

16.8.12 FÜRTH – 20.1.45 B. BELSEN

ZIMMER-HAAS, EVA

1.6.20 FÜRTH – 24.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

FRANEKER

ASSCHER, ELI

8.4.20 AMSTERDAM – 14.7.45 EINDHOVEN

BRANDWEINER, MALVINE

20.9.21 VIENNA – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

FREIMANN, BENNO

27.7.14 FREUCHTLINGEN – 18.1.45 DACHAU

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER (MOSHE)

21.2.21 VERDEN – 19.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

HELLER, MOSHE

11.6.15 HANNOVER – ~.3.45 B. BELSEN

KOHN, HANS MARTIN (LEO)

27.12.20 Breslau – ~.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

LEVY, ERICH JOSEPH

7.12.19 HAMBURG – ~.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

MALZ, ISIDOR (ISI)

24.8.20 SAARBRÜCKEN – ~.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

ROTHSCHILD, EDUARD

26.3.21 FRANKFURT – 12.11.42 MAUTHAUSEN

WEYL-DRUKKER, REGINA

8.9.18 GOUDA – 24.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

WOLFF, HELMUTH (YEHOSHUAH)

31.3.12 POSEN – 26.3.43 SOBIBOR

ZEICHNER, OTTO (YEHOSHUAH)

19.2.21 KLAGENFURTH – 11.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

GOUDA

AALSVEL, JETTIE

11.1.23 AMSTERDAM – 29.1.45 C. EUROPE

HAMBURGER, ABRAHAM

11.8.23 ROERMOND – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

KOPPEL, MARTIJN

20.9.24 ZUTPHEN – 9.4.43 SOBIBOR

LAUB, LEO (LEIB)

21.4.24 NÜRNBERG – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

LITTEN, MANFRED (RALF)

20.1.09 POSEN – 28.2.45 C. EUROPE

LITTEN-SERLUI, JANSJE (SHOSHANA)

20.5.11. AMSTERDAM – 24.5.45 C. EUROPE

MEIJER, JACOBA KEETJE (PUCK)

7.5.23 GOUDA – 28.5.43 SOBIBOR

ROOS, HENRIETTE (JETTY)

26.4.25 AMSTERDAM – ~.9.42 BIRKENAU

TIEFENBRÜNNER, ISAAK (ITSCHÉ)

11.11.26 KÖLN – 11.5.44 PYRENEES

LAAG KEPPEL

BRAUN, ALFRED (FREDDY) AND SPOUSE JEIDEL THEKLA

18.9.16 LIEGNITZ – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

BRAVMANN, EDITH

17.12.21 FISCHACH – 3.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

COHEN, JOSEPH

24.11.19 WATERGRAAFSMEER – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

DUIZEND, HERMAN
24.4.19 AMSTERDAM – 30.11.43 DOROHUSK

DUIZEND-ENGELSCHMAN, DUIFJE
20.9.17 AMSTERDAM – 21.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

EHRENFELD, HANS NATANEL NAHUM
20.7.19 VIENNA – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

FEBLOWICZ, ROBERT (BOBBY)
5.5.20 SAMTER – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

HARTMANN, ERNST WILLI
16.3.22 WALDENBURG – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

HEINEMANN, ERWIN
30.9.21 HAMBURG – 14.5.43 SOBIBOR

HIEGENTLICH, TRUTTJE (WILLY)
27.5.22 AMSTERDAM – 21.5.43 SOBIBOR

JACOBS, PHILIP RUDOLF
1.12.24 AMSTERDAM – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

JONG, ELISABETH (BETTY) de
12.1.25 BERGEN – 28.5.43 SOBIBOR

LEWY, MANFRED
11.3.22 FISCHACH – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

LOEWENSTEIN-DAVID, ELSE
27.10.08 KÖLN – 3.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

LOEWENSTEIN, SIEGFRIED REUVEN
23.4.13 TÜBINGEN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

MANNES, ERNEST
5.5.20 LACKENBACH – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

MICHEL, MANFRED
27.3.18 BRESLAU – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

NAGLA, KARL
18.4.20 LACKENBACH – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

PEGLAU, HEINZ (ZEEV)
1.6.20 BERLIN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

ROSENSTOCK-JUDENFREUND, BERTHOLD
11.1.16 FRANKFURT – 10.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

ROSELAAR, NAATJE
15.10.22 AMSTERDAM – 30.11.43 AUSCHWITZ

SIMON, GUSTAV
15.1.20 BISSES – 2.4.43 SOBIBOR

SOFER, MAX (ZVI)
10.11.20 VIENNA – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

STEIN, REIZA (RIVKA)
1.1.15 ZMIGROD – 12.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

TAUCHNER, JOSEPH
15.8.17 BUDAPEST – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

WALLACH, LEISER
22.4.20 VIENNA – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

LOOSDRECHT

ADLER, SIEGBERT LEO
13.12.24 DÜNSBACH – –.11.43 AUSCHWITZ

ARDEL, MAX
18.7.23 EHRFURT – 1.4.44 WARSAW

ASCHHEIM, BERNHARD
18.7.25 AMSTERDAM – 18.1.43 C. EUROPE

BERNHARD, LILLI
24.1.27 BERLIN – 10.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

DUERHEIM, ROBERT JOSEF
14.7.25 VIENNA – –.43 AUSCHWITZ

ENGELBERT, JOACHIM
9.10.25 RADEWITSCH – 2.4.43 SOBIBOR

FRANK, GUENTHER

17.12.24 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

GELDER, HARTOG ISAAC van

27.4.16 AMSTERDAM – 31.3.44 C. EUROPE

HEIMANN, TINA

17.10.05 SCHWANFELD – 26.3.43 SOBIBOR

JUROVICS, EZRA

1.2.25 BERLIN – 9.12.42 AUSCHWITZ

KELLNER, LILLI

12.7.25 KÖLN – 1.43 AUSCHWITZ

PINKHOF, JUDA

11.7.21 AMSTERDAM – 3.11.42 AUSCHWITZ

ROSENBAUM, DAVID

15.2.25 KÖLN – 1.45 AUSCHWITZ

RUEBNER, MANFRED

11.7.24 BERLIN – 31.3.44 POLAND

SCHOEN, FABIAN

3.6.25 BERLIN – 1.45 C. EUROPE

SIMON, JOACHIM (SHUSHU)

12.11.19 BERLIN – 27.1.43 BREDA

SONNENBERG, PAUL

4.7.25 KOBLENZ – 22.1.45 C. EUROPE

TEITELBAUM, ISRAEL

27.1.25 LEIPZIG – 30.4.43 SOBIBOR

TURTELTAUB, MEIER MAX

8.1.25 DORTMUND – 16.7.43 SOBIBOR

WALDMANN, JOSEF

4.3.25 BERLIN – 1.45 AUSCHWITZ

WERKDORP

ABRAHAMS, JOSEF

6.10.21 GLADBECK – 20.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ABRAHAMSOHN, FRITZ AND SPOUSE van CLEEF

28.4.08 RHEINE – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

ABRAHAMSOHN, NORBERT

21.9.16 HAMBURG – 30.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ACKER, KURT

18.1.21 ESSEN – 14.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ADLER, HANS

1.8.15 LÜDINGHAUSEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

ALTENBERG-KOBER, HILDE HERMINE

21.2.22 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

ARONADE, GUENTHER

19.3.18 KATTOWITZ – 13.2.44 AUSCHWITZ

AUGAPFEL, GIDEON

4.3.21 VIENNA – 22.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BANDMANN, HANS

12.6.16 BERLIN – 8.7.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BAUER, SIEGBERT AND SPOUSE JOSEFINE

25.7.1881 EISGRUB – 9.1.45 B. BELSEN

BEIN, HUGO

31.12.19 MÜNCHEN – 11.7.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BIELEFELD, PETER

12.5.21 STETTIN – 10.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BINHEIM, HANS WERNER

24.1.23 HANNOVER – 18.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BLANKENSTEIN, RALPH

29.2.22 HAMBURG – 2.2.45 AUSCHWITZ

BLAU, WALTER

2.1.18 HAMBURG – 11.7.41 MAUTHAUSEN

BLUMENTHAL, JULIUS WERNER
24.3.19 BERLIN – 29.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

BRAUER, SIEGFRIED
15.9.22 BRESLAU – –.2.45 C. EUROPE

BRUECK, LOTTE
11.7.22 BINGEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

BRUECKNER, JOSEF
15.2.22 DUISBURG – 13.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

CAMINER, HANS JOACHIM
18.9.20 BERLIN – 20.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

CAPELL, WOLFGANG
16.4.20 LIPPSTADT – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

COHEN - BERGMANN, SUZANNE
17.11.15 BIRKENHEIM – 19.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

COHEN, PAUL SIEGFRIED
1.1.12 ALTONA – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

COHN, FRITZ
23.2.19 MÜLHEIM – 31.7.44 AUSCHWITZ

DESSAUER, HEINZ
5.1.17 SOLINGEN – 13.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

DOBRINER, KURT HERBERT
1.2.25 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

EHRlich, HEINZ ERWIN
23.7.20 DRESDEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

EICHENGRUEN, ERWIN
29.6.24 DINSLAKEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

ENGLARD, BERTHA
7.7.21 PRZEMYSL – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

FISCHER, PAUL RICHARD
7.4.20 BERLIN – 4.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

FREUND, EGON KALLMANN
13.4.25 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

FREUND, ERICH BARUCH (BENNO)
28.9.16 BRESLAU – –.45 BUCHENWALD

FRIEDLAENDER, ANSELM
19.7.20 HAMBURG – 25.6.41 MAUTHAUSEN

FRIEDLAENDER, FRITZ
3.2.20 STADE – 11.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

FRIEDLAENDER, WERNER
4.6.23 BRESLAU – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

FROHMANN, ADOLF ASCHER
16.10.12 GELSENKIRCHEN – 16.2.42 MAUTHAUSEN

GALANTAI, BRUNO
14.4.14 VIENNA – 18.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GALANTAI, PAUL
12.2.11 VIENNA – 12.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GLOGOWSKI, GUENTHER
5.3.22 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

GOLDMANN, PETER
27.1.23 BEUTHEN – 23.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GOTTLIEB, LASZLO (LADDY)
13.12.19 VIENNA – 28.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GRUENBAUM, WERNER LUDOLF
20.12.23 EISENACH – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

GRUENEWALD, HANS GUENTHER
28.12.19 DÜSSELDORF – 17.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GUGGENHEIM, RICHARD
16.5.21 FREIBURG – 12.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

GUMPERT, FRANZ
25.3.20 GNESEN – 11.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

HAAR, ERWIN
3.3.14 VIENNA – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HAAR-FRIEDLAENDER, MARGARETE
27.12.19 BRESLAU – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HAEUSLER, LEO
13.10.23 DUISBURG – 31.5.44 AUSCHWITZ

HAFNER, ADOLF
11.3.21 VIENNA – 10.10.43 LAHDE

HAHN, MARTIN
4.12.19 HOFHEIM – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

HAMM, HORST F.
24.12.24 SIESEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HAUPTMANN, HORST
23.6.19 BIELEFELD – ~.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HAUSCHNER, RUTH
14.5.21 Breslau – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

HEFTMANN, MAX
14.2.14 TURKA – 18.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

HEILBRONN, HORST
1.9.21 BERLIN – 16.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

HEINAU, WERNER GEORG
16.10.21 KÖLN – 28.7.42 AUSCHWITZ

HEISS, WALTER
28.8.19 VIENNA – 10.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

HERTZ, GUENTHER
4.12.19 BORGHORST – DIED IN HIDING

HERZ, GERD
8.3.25 RECKLINGHAUSEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HIRSCH, GERHARD
18.2.24 MÜHLHEIM – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

HIRSCH, HEINZ MANFRED
4.2.21 BERLIN – 17.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

HOEXTER, GUENTHER
5.5.25 BEBRA – 2.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

JACOBSON, MANFRED
14.10.22 HAMBURG – 2.1.44 AUSCHWITZ

JANY, WERNER
16.8.18 Breslau – 16.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

JOCKL, BERTHOLD
15.1.1900 VIENNA – SUICIDE IN HIDING 29.6.43 AMSTERDAM

JONGE, LUDWIG BENNO dc
24.4.14 BAYREUTH – 15.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

JOSEPH, HANS HUGO
22.7.24 MÜNCHENGLADBACH– 7.5.43 SOBIBOR

JOSEPH, WERNER
21.2.28 MÜNCHENGLADBACH – 7.5.43 SOBIBOR

JOSEPH, HEINZ GUENTHER
4.10.22 HAMBURG – 16.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

JOSEPH, MARKUS YOACHIM AND SPOUSE ILSE
27.3.20 WRONKI – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

KAHN, KARL
5.5.21 KARLSRUHE – 16.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

KAMINKER, GUSTAV
1.11.20 VIENNA – 18.7.41 MAUTHAUSEN

KANIN, ALFRED AND SPOUSE MIEP
6.9.10 POSEN – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

KAUFMANN, ERNST
21.4.11 KREFELD – 8.7.41 MAUTHAUSEN

KAUFMANN, RUDOLF
7.10.07 KREFELD – 11.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

KAUFMANN-HOLZHEIM, HANNA
21.6.13 GÜLZOW – 21.5.43 SOBIBOR

KIRCHHEIMER, HANS
2.10.25 KÜNZELSAW – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

KOKOSKI, HORST
13.6.21 BERLIN – 30.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LANDMANN, KURT
22.11.21 KNUROW – 14.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LASER, WERNER

3.5.21 BERLIN – 15.9.41, MAUTHAUSEN

LAUFER, FRANZ

15.8.25 KATTOWITZ – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LAUFER, LOTTE

12.2.23 KATTOWITZ – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LAUPHEIMER, MANFRED AND SPOUSE CARMEN HELGA

30.5.10 STUTTGART – 31.7.44 AUSCHWITZ

LEHMANN, GERHARD (GRED)

23.4.23 BERLIN – 17.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LEHMANN, KURT

1.9.19 BERLIN – 18.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LEISER, HELMUTH

1.9.23 KERPEN – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LESHEIM, KURT ARTHUR

25.10.20 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LEUBUSCHER, WOLFGANG

22.8.20 GUBEN-BRANDENBURG – 11.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LEVY, GUENTHER

1.8.25 DORTMUND – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LEVY, HORST

18.8.23 PADERDORN – 12.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

LEWKOWITZ, KARL FRIEDRICH

10.9.22 BRESLAU – 30.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

LEYSER, LOTHAR

30.11.20 ESSEN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

LEYSER-RECHNITZ, BRIGITTA

AND CHILDREN GABRIEL, URSULA

4.11.20 BERLIN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

LISSAUER, WOLFGANG

14.12.21 HAMBURG – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

LITTMANN, FRITZ ERWIN

7.2.21 BERLIN – 28.5.43 SOBIBOR

LITTMANN, HERBERT LEOPOLD

25.9.19 BERLIN – 3.2.42 MAUTHAUSEN

LOEWINGER, MAX

6.5.19 VIENNA – 7.12.43 BIRKENAU

MAGNUS, RENEE

8.7.26 HAMBURG – 28.5.43 SOBIBOR

MAIER, HANS FRITZ

23.1.22 HÖRDEN – 29.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MARCHAND, ARNOLD

13.4.21 BERLIN – 18.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MARCHAND, HERBERT

23.7.22 BERLIN – 3.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MECHLOWITZ, DAVID DANKFRIED (LEO)

25.5.26 HANNOVER – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

MECHLOWITZ, ISIDOR

24.9.24 HANNOVER – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

MEHLER, MAX

21.3.10 STANISLAW – 19.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MEHLER, SYDONIA

9.12.05 STANISLAW – 16.7.43 SOBIBOR

MEHRGUT, KURT

31.3.14 HAMBURG – 10.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MENDELSON, HEINZ ALEXANDER

26.9.22 BERLIN – 18.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

MEYER, WALTER

1.6.22 BAD LIPPSPRINGE – 26.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MEYERSTEIN, HERBERT

12.6.22 GÖTTINGEN – 29.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

MOSER, KURT

24.6.12 BOCHUM – 22.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

MOSES, ERNST

25.12.19 BEUTHEN – 17.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

NEUMUND, LOTTE
10.6.22 MANNHEIM – 3.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

OLLENDORF, WOLFGANG
27.4.10 Breslau – 27.8.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ORBACH, HANS WOLFGANG
17.12.24 DRESDEN – 19.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

PINCUS, HANS MARTIN
2.7.23 DELITSCH – –.42 AUSCHWITZ

PRAGER, ERNST
13.4.17 TISCHAU – 17.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

RACK, MAX
18.5.25 DUISBURG – 5.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

RAPHAELSOHN, RUDOLF (RAFULE)
4.4.22 BERLIN – 31.8.44 BLECHHAMMER

REDLICH, JOSEPH
30.12.18 Breslau – 8.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

ROSENBACH, HARALD
14.3.24 DORTMUND – 2.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

ROSENBLUM, ERICH
9.11.13 HAMBURG – 11.2.44 AUSCHWITZ

ROTHSCHILD, LOTHAR
22.8.08 REXINGEN – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

ROTHSTEIN, WOLFGANG
30.7.27 Breslau – 30.6.44 THERESIENSTADT

RUSSMANN, WOLFGANG
–.5.19 PADERBORN – DIED IN HOLLAND 29.5.43

RUSSMANN-OPPENHEIM, GRETA
26.5.22 NIEDER AULA – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

SCHAEFER, FRITZ GERD AND SPOUSE HELMA
8.11.21 BERLIN – 30.4.43 AUSCHWITZ

SCHLESINGER, KURT AND SPOUSE ELLI
6.10.13 VIENNA – 19.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHLOMIUK, ERNST
3.5.23 VIENNA – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHMELZ, FRITZ
16.4.22 WATTENSCHIED – 28.7.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHMULEWITZ, ERNST AND SPOUSE
15.2.15 KROTOSZYN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHORR, ALFRED
2.7.20 VIENNA – 14.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

SCHUEFTAN, ALFRED
27.6.22 Breslau – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SCHUERMANN, HANS PETER
10.1.14 BIELEFELD – 31.3.44 AUSCHWITZ

SCHWAB, MANFRED
14.9.24 STUTTGART – 9.5.45 C. EUROPE

SCHWARZSCHILD, RUTH
6.9.19 KÖNIG – 9.11.43 AUSCHWITZ

SCHWEITZER, NORBERT (WILLI)
26.2.23 DORTMUND – 2.5.45 FLOSSENBUERG

SCHWINGER, SIGMUND
26.1.26 HANNOVER – 4.6.43 SOBIBOR

SILBERBERG, BERNHARD WERNER
5.12.22 BÜREN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SIMONS, GUENTHER
1.11.21 RHEYDT – 12.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

SIMSON, ADOLF
28.3.24 BERGSDORF – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SOMMER, ALBERT
21.3.20 KÖNIGHEIM – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SOMMER, HUGO
21.3.20 KÖNIGHEIM – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

SPERBER, GERHARD
7.11.20 BERLIN – –.45 MITTELBAU

SPERBER-CHLEBOWSKI, ANNA HENNY
8.12.20 KÖLN – 44/45 C. EUROPE

SPITZER, ERNST
28.11.19 VIENNA – 25.1.43 AUSCHWITZ

STEINHARDT, HORST
27.7.24 BERLIN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

STERN, HANS WERNER
2.3.24 MEDEBACH – 15.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

STERNBERG, REGINA
23.3.20 VIENNA – 31.5.45 B. BELSEN

STRAUSS, HILDEGARD
11.9.09 SPRENDLINGEN – --.44 AUSCHWITZ

STRAUSS, JOSEF
6.10.24 DARMSTADT – 17.8.42 AUSCHWITZ

TOLLER, WILLY
4.9.21 BERLIN – 20.9.43 SOBIBOR

TOMBOWSKI, HERBERT
8.3.19 BERLIN – 3.4.45 FLOSSENBUERG

TOMBOWSKI-STERN, HERTHA
1.6.22 BURGHAM – 31.5.45 B. BELSEN

UNGER, MAX
22.9.23 ESSEN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

VRIES-de WINTER, ROSA de AND CHILDREN MIA AND FRITS
22.6.16 KÖLN – 3.9.43 AUSCHWITZ

VRIES, MENNO de
24.2.01 LEER – 31.3.44 POLAND

VRIES, MAX de
27.3.18 DROVE – 31.3.43 SEIBERSDORF

WACHTEL, ARY
10.1.17 GOSTYN – 31.12.42 AUSCHWITZ

WEIL, EDITH
21.12.24 AUGSBURG – 28.1.44 AUSCHWITZ

WERTHAN, THEODOR
14.6.26 ROTHENBURG (FULDA) – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

WESSELY, HANS EMIL
2.8.19 VIENNA – 14.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

WIENER, KURT AND SPOUSE
17.10.15 KATTOWITZ – 28.2.43 AUSCHWITZ

WINTER, KURT
20.9.19 KÖLN – 9.7.43 SOBIBOR

WUERZWEILER, KURT
21.10.19 NEIDENSTEIN – 24.10.41 MAUTHAUSEN

WUNSCH, GERHARD
8.12.12 BERLIN – 12.9.41 MAUTHAUSEN

ZIMMER, MORITZ
1.2.23 KÖLN – 30.9.42 AUSCHWITZ

Three more members are mentioned here separately due to the exceptional circumstances in which they died after the Liberation of Holland.

KLEIN, NORBERT

born – 18.9.1919 in Naumburg, was in the individual hachshara. He was caught by the Germans in August 1943. During his interrogation by the Gestapo he jumped through the window, was severely injured and was hospitalized until his death in Amersfoort on 12.11.1988.

PAUL, PHILIPP

born – 29.2.1916 in Hamburg, was in the Werkdorp. He committed suicide on 4.2.1947 in Holland, not being able to face life after the Holocaust.

REILINGER, KURT

born – 5.12.1917 in Stuttgart, was in the Werkdorp and individual hachshara. He was caught by the Germans in Paris in 1944 and deported to Buchenwald. After the liberation he returned to Holland, resuming intensive activities and was killed in a traffic accident in Harderwijk on 17.9.1945.